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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 BELGRADE 5679

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PINR, YO

SUBJECT: THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP AFTER KARDELJ

1. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS. AFTER YEARS OF ASKING "AFTER TITO WHAT?" THE INCAPACITATION OF TITO'S SENIOR LIEUTENANT HAS POSED THE MORE IMMEDIATE QUESTION--"AFTER KARDELJ WHAT?" THE ILLNESS OF THE LEADING THEORETICIAN OF SELF-MANAGEMENT MAY ENHANCE THE INFLUENCE OF THOSE WHO FAVOR INCREASED PARTY CONTROL AND DIMINISH THE VAGUENESS AND FLEXIBILITY OF YUGOSLAV IDEOLOGY, WHICH HAS DAMPENED INTERNAL CONFLICTS. STANE DOLANC BECOMES MORE THAN EVER THE FAVORITE TO SUCCEED TITO AT THE TOP OF THE HIERARCHY, BUT ALSO MORE THAN EVER VULNERABLE TO ATTACK.AND THE STARK
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FACT IS THAT SHOULD HE TOO DROP FROM THE RACE, THERE IS NO

OTHER FIGURE WITH A CLEAR SHOT, NO ONE ELSE EVEN BEING DISCUSSED. BAKARIC, BILIC, GLIGOROV AND OTHERS ARE PRESIDENTIAL MATERIAL BUT HAVE SERIOUS HANDICAPS. BIJEDIC, VRATUSA, HERLJEVIC, STAMBOLIC AND LJUBICIC SEEM LESS LIKELY TO RISE HIGHER, AS DO MILITARY OFFICERS, ECONOMIC LEADERS, PURGED POLITICIANS AND LEADERS OF THE KOSOVAR ALBANIAN COMMUNITY. THE PROSPECT FOR THE MONTHS AHEAD IS FOR A CHALLENGE TO DOLANC'S POSITION, BUT NO INDIVIDUAL STANDS OUT NOW AS HIS MAIN RIVAL. END SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

2. SPECULATION ABOUT THE FUTURE OF YUGOSLAVIA HAS LONG FOCUSED ON THE QUESTION "AFTER TITO WHAT?" THE ILLNESS OF HIS CLOSEST ADVISOR EDVARD KARDELJ NOW POSES THE MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM--"AFTER KARDELJ WHAT?" THE REGIME'S LEADING THEORETICIAN, THE FATHER OF BOTH SELF-MANAGEMENT AND NON-ALIGNMENT, A MEMBER OF THE EIGHT MAN STATE PRESIDENCY, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF TITO SINCE THEIR DAYS AS CLANDESTINE REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE 1930'S, KARDELJ HAS RECENTLY UNDERGONE HIS SECOND SERIOUS OPERATION IN TWO YEARS.

3. REPORTS ABOUT HIS PRESENT CONDITION HAVE VARIED WIDELY, BUT WE ARE PESSIMISTIC. A PARTY OFFICIAL WHO RECENTLY SAW KARDELJ TOLD A SWEDISH DIPLOMAT, "WE ARE PROCEEDING ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT KARDELJ WILL NEVER AGAIN PLAY AN ACTIVE POLITICAL ROLE." STATE PRESIDENCY MEMBER VLADIMIR BAKARIC TOLD A GERMAN DIPLOMAT, AND A WELL-CONNECTED YUGOSLAV DOCTOR TOLD US THE SAME--KARDELJ'S CANCER WILL PREVENT HIS RETURN.

4. ONLY TITO'S DEATH WOULD SURPASS THE EFFECTS OF KARDELJ'S PASSING FROM THE SCENE. WHILE IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THE PHILOSOPHER KARDELJ WOULD NEVER SUCCEED TITO IN ANY TOTAL SENSE, HE WAS EXPECTED TO PROVIDE A LEGITIMATE AND SAFE FOCUS FOR A POST-TITO COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP. THUS THE QUESTION OF SUCCESSION COULD BE POSTPONED WHILE HE WAS ACTIVE, MORE SERIOUS CONTENDERS COULD SUPPRESS THEIR RIVALRY WITHOUT FEAR OF LOSING

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THE CHANCE TO COMPETE. BUT WITHOUT KARDELJ:
--LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS (LC) EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC NOT ONLY INCREASES HIS PRESENT POWER, BUT SIMULTANEOUSLY BECOMES THE LEADING CANDIDATE TO REPLACE TITO AT THE TOP OF THE HIERARCHY AS WELL AS THE MAJOR TARGET FOR OTHER LEADERS. INSTEAD OF THE PROSPECT OF POWER BEING SHARED AFTER TITO, THE AMBITIOUS DOLANC THREATENS TO MONOPOLIZE IT.

--YUGOSLAVIA IS LIKELY TO PAY LESS ATTENTION TO THEORY AND MORE TO RESULTS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF PRAGMATISTS LIKE DOLANC. THIS NEW EMPHASIS COULD INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY AND EFFICIENCY BUT ALSO HEIGHTEN INTERNAL CONFLICT, WHICH THE VAGUENESS OF KARDELJ'S THEORIES HAS HELPED DAMPEN.

--PARTY CONTROL COULD BE STRENGTHENED. WHILE THEORY HAS FAR EXCEEDED PRACTICE, THE WEIGHT OF YUGOSLAV IDEOLOGY UNDER KARDELJ HAS BEEN ON THE SIDE OF DECENTRALIZATION AND DIRECT DEMOCRACY. PROPONENTS OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE LC ARE LIKELY TO COME TO THE FOREFRONT NOW EVEN MORE THAN THEY HAVE SINCE 1972.

--THE INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN SECRETARY MILOS MINIC, NO FRIEND OF THE U.S., COULD BE ENHANCED. HE WILL NO LONGER HAVE SOMEONE OF KARDELJ'S AUTHORITY OVERSEEING HIS WORK FROM THE FEDERAL COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

--PRESIDENT TITO SUFFERS A PERSONAL BLOW. HE HAS SURVIVED MANY OF HIS OLD COMRADES, BUT NONE SO CLOSE AS KARDELJ. HE LOSES HIS INTELLECTUAL GUIDE AND A CLOSE PERSONAL FRIEND.

5. LC EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC (51) NOW OCCUPIES A PREEMINENT POSITION AMONG THE LEADERSHIP. WITHOUT KARDELJ, HE BECOMES THE UNRIVALED CANDIDATE FOR "MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED". ALTHOUGH HE IS A SLOVENE LIKE KARDELJ, HE IS A PROTEGE OF TITO AND IS NOT LOSING A PROTECTOR. HIS SELECTION TO ACCOMPANY TITO TO THE COLOMBO NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IS AN INDICATION OF HIS FAVORED POSITION AND AN OPPORTUNITY FOR HIM TO CAPTURE SOME OF TITO'S INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE. DOLANC PROJECTS COMPETENCE, INTELLIGENCE, SELF-ASSURANCE AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF POWER IN PERSONAL AS WELL AS PUBLIC MEETINGS. CONFIDENTIAL

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HE IS UNUSALLY DIRECT AND CONCISE IN CONVERSATION. AS THE SENIOR LC EXECUTIVE, NOT REQUIRED TO ROTATE FROM OFFICE AFTER A FIXED TERM LIKE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, HE IS IN AN EXCELLENT POSITION TO SUCCEED TITO AS PRESIDENT OF THE LC. THIS WILL BE THE KEY JOB IN THE POST-TITO ERA, AND IT HAS NOT BEEN FILLED IN ADVANCE IN PREPARATION FOR TITO'S DEPARTURE.

6. YUGOSLAVS OFTEN KID THEMSELVES IN CITING THE COLLECTIVE STATE PRESIDENCY AS PROOF THAT THE SUCCESSION PROBLEM HAS BEEN SOLVED. VIDOJE ZARKOVIC, A RETIRED GENERAL NOW REPRESENTING MONTEGEGRO ON THE STATE PRESIDENCY, WOULD FORMALLY REPLACE TITO AT THE TOP OF THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD TITO DIE DURING ZARKOVIC'S ONE-YEAR TENURE AS VICE-PRESIDENT, (UNTIL MID-1977) BUT NO OBSERVERS HERE CITE HIM AS A LIKELY HEIR

TO REAL POWER, (IN FACT THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF LCY
PRESIDIUM WHICH DOLANC HEADS CONTAINS MORE COMERS
THAN THE STATE PRESIDENCY AND--WITH THE EXCEPTION OF
TODO KURTOVIC WHO IS DOGMATIST--IS REPORTEDLY
COMPOSED OF RELATIVE PRAGMATIC AND ABLE NEW GENERATION
OF LEADERS.)

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7. WHILE DOLANC IS IN A POWERFUL POSITION, HE IS FAR
FROM INVULNERABLE. VLADIMIR BAKARIC TOLD AN AMERICAN
VISITOR JUST BEFORE KARDELJ'S LATEST OPERATION THAT HE
DID NOT THINK DOLANC COULD BE THE NEXT PARTY LEADER.
HE IMPLIED THAT DOLANC LACKED SUFFICIENT SUPPORT INSIDE
THE PARTY. A LEADING YUGOSLAV ECONOMIST HAS EXPRESSED
RESERVATIONS TO THE AMBASSADOR ABOUT DOLANC'S INTELLECT AND HE
IS PROBABLY NOT MUCH OF AN ECONOMIC THINKER OR THEORETICIAN,

IN GENERAL. PLUCKED FROM OBSCURITY IN 1969
AFTER AN ARMY CAREER, HE DOES NOT HAVE A REGIONAL POWER
BASE AND DEPENDS ON TITO'S FAVOR, WHICH DJILAS AND RANKOVIC CAN
ATTEST IS NOT IMMUTABLE. HIS POST-KARDELJ PREEMINENCE
AND STRONG AMBITION MAY INDEED COMPLICATE HIS RELATION-
SHIP WITH TITO, WHO IS NOT KNOWN FOR TOLERATING RIVALS.
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8. CO-SIGNER WITH TITO OF THE "LETTER" OF 1972, DOLANC
PRESIDED OVER PURGES OF THE CROATIAN AND SERBIAN
LEADERSHIPS AND A GENERAL TIGHTENING OF LC CONTROL
NATIONWIDE. HE IS REPUTED TO BE CONSIDERED TOO AMBITIOUS
BY OTHERS IN THE LEADERSHIP AND HIS ENEMIES MAY TRY
HARDER THAN EVER TO TOPPLE HIM NOW THAT HE IS CLEARLY
THE FRON RUNNER. APPARENTLY REEMERGING AMONG LIBERAL
DISSIDENTS IN SLOVENIA, REPORTS CIRCULATED AGAIN THIS
YEAR THAT DOLANC HAD BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE NAZIS IN
HIS YOUTH. HE HAS PRIVATELY ADMITTED UNDERGOING
COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING WHILE IN HIGH
SCHOOL IN SLOVENIA DURING THE WAR. HE JOINED THE
PARTISANS RATHER LATE IN THE WAR (1944) AND MIGHT BE
ATTACKED ON THAT SCORE.

9. AT TITO'S 1975 HUNT FOR THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS OTHER
LEADERS WERE DELIGHTED THAT DOLANC FAILED TO BAG THE
MOST BIRDS, AN HONOR HE OPENLY SOUGHT. HE RECEIVED
INSTEAD A PIG WHEN THE PRIZES WERE HANDED OUT AFTER
THE HUNT. SHORT AND OBESE, DOLANC BEARS MORE THAN A
SUPERFICIAL PORCINE RESEMBLANCE. A JOKE YUGOSLAVS
TELL ABOUT HIM GOES LIKE THIS: "WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN DOLANC KILLING HIMSELF AND DOLANC KILLING A PIG?
ONE IS SUICIDE. THE OTHER IS FRATRICIDE." IN VIEW OF
TITO'S ROTUND EXAMPLE, HOWEVER, WE COULD NOT RULE
DOLANC OUT JUST BECAUSE OF HIS PHYSICAL APPEARANCE.

10. THE SOVIETS HERE APPEAR TO DISLIKE
DOLANC DESPITE AN EARLY WARMTH IN THE POST-71 PERIOD OF LC
STRENGTHENING WHEN THEY SEEM TO HAVE SEEN HIM AS A CENTRALIST. HE
RECEIVED CHILLY TREATMENT DURING RECENT TRIPS TO MOSCOW.
SOVIET DIPLOMATS TOLD A SWEDISH DIPLOMAT HERE THAT THEY
WERE UPSET BY HIS ATTACK ON SOVIET POSITIONS BEFORE
AND AFTER THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE. THIS
SAME SOURCE SAID THAT HE THINKS THE SOVIETS SEE DOLANC
AS BOTH TOUGHER AND SOFTER THAN TITO -- OVERTLY ADOPTING
A TOUGHER STANCE BUT LESS ABLE TO MAINTAIN HIS POSITION
BECAUSE HE HAS LESS PRESTIGE.

11. WHILE NO FRIEND OF THE SOVIETS, DOLANC IS NOT NECESSARILY A
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FRIEND OF THE U.S. HE REVEALS NO DEEP-SEATED ANTI-AMERICANISM OR RIGID IDEOLOGY IN CONVERSATION, BUT NEITHER DOES HE SEEM PRO-WESTERN. WHILE OFTEN DESCRIBED AS "MODERATELY LIBERAL", A TOUGH PRAGMATISM IS HIS HALLMARK.

12. DOLANC, THEN, IS THE FRONT RUNNER TO ASSUME KARDELJ'S MANTLE AS NUMBER TWO AND POTENTIAL SUCCESSOR TO TITO AS YUGOSLAVIA'S TOP COMMUNIST. BUT HE IS A FRONT RUNNER WITH SERIOUS WEAKNESSES. AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS STRIKING THAT THERE IS NO OTHER CANDIDATE WHO IS SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED IN BELGRADE'S RUMOR MILLS. WHILE THERE ARE 5-10 VERY ABLE MEN, OBSERVERS ARE HARD PUT TO FIND ALTERNATIVES WITH THE COMBINATION OF HEALTH, NATIONALITY, DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE, EXPERIENCE AND DESIRE FOR POWER WHICH WOULD MARK THEM AS POTENTIAL SUCCESSORS TO TITO.

13. WITH REGARD TO NATIONALITY, A SERB IS UNLIKELY TO REACH TO TOP BOTH BECAUSE THE OTHER NATIONALITIES FEAR SERBIAN DOMINATION AND BECAUSE THEY HAVE NO OUTSTANDING FIGURES WHO ARE CURRENTLY ACTIVE. SERBS CONSTITUTE THE LARGEST NATIONAL GROUP WITH 8 MILLION OF YUGOSLAVIA'S 21 MILLION PEOPLE. THE MONTENEGRINS ARE CONSIDERED ALLIES OF THE SERBS AND THEREFORE ALSO UNSUITABLE. THE ELEVATION OF A CROAT, THE SECOND LARGEST NATIONAL GROUP, WOULD PROBABLY BE OPPOSED BY THEIR TRADITIONAL RIVALS, THE SERBS, BUT CANNOT BE ENTIRELY DISMISSED. THE NON-SLAV ALBANIANS ARE A SPECIAL CASE AND OUT OF THE RUNNING FOR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP DESPITE THE QUALITY OF SEVERAL OF THEIR LEADERS. A REPRESENTATIVE OF ONE OF THE SMALLER, MORE NEUTRAL GROUPS -- THE SLOVENES, MOSLEMS OR MACEDONIANS -- SEEMS MOST LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL.

14. APART FROM THE RIGHT NATIONALITY, ANY ASPIRANT TO POWER NEEDS NATIONAL POLITICAL EXPERIENCE. A TYPICAL CAREER PATTERN FOR THOSE NOW IN THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP INCLUDES PARTY AND GOVERNMENT SERVICE IN THEIR NATIVE REPUBLIC AND THEN A JUMP TO THE FEDERAL LEVEL, PERHAPS FOLLOWED BY ALTERNATION BETWEEN FEDERAL AND REPUBLICAN JOBS. INTERNAL SECURITY AND ARMY SERVICE ARE OFTEN ELEMENTS OF A SUCCESSFUL CAREER. A RIVAL TO DOLANC IS UNLIKELY TO BE SOMEONE WITHOUT EXPERIENCE IN
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THE NATIONAL PARTY OR GOVT AND CONSEQUENT EXPOSURE TO NATIONAL PROBLEMS AND THE LEADERS OF OTHER REPUBLICS. LOCAL BARONS LIKE VESELIN DJURANOVIC (MONTENEGRO) AND FRANC POPIT (SLOVENIA), WHO HAVE LED THEIR REPUBLICAN LC'S FOR SEVERAL YEARS, ARE UNLIKELY TO JUMP TO THE TOP

WITHOUT INTERVENING FEDERAL EXPERIENCE.

15. ANOTHER CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP IS PARTISAN OR PRE-WAR COMMUNIST ACTIVITY. A CHALLENGER TO DOLANC WITH SUCH CREDENTIALS WILL COMMAND SUPPORT FROM HIS OLD CRONIES, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF DOLANC'S RELATIVE YOUTH AND LATER ENTRY INTO THE PARTISANS. THE OLDER GENERATION MAY BE RELUCTANT TO PASS ON THE TORCH SO SOON. IT COULD CHOOSE TO ELEVATE ONE OF ITS OWN, ALTHOUGH SOME ARE INCOMPETENT LIKE STAMBOLIC OR SICK LIKE BAKARIC. MEN OF POWER IN THEIR OWN RIGHT, THE PRESIDENTS OF THE REPUBLIC GOVTS IN CROATIA (JAKOV BLAZEVIC), SLOVENIA (SERGEJ KRAJGER), BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA (RATO DUGONJIC) AND MONTENEGRO (VELJKO MILATOVIC) AS WELL AS THE BOSNIAN REPRESENTATIVE ON THE STATE PRESIDENCY, CVIJETIN MIJATOVIC COULD EMERGE TO CHALLENGE THE UPSTART DOLANC, POSSIBLY AS A COLLECTIVE WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE OLDER GENERATION.

16. VLADIMIR BAKARIC (64) IS THE MOST PROMINENT OF THESE OLD WAR HORSES AND HAS REPORTEDLY SHARED WITH KARDELJ, DOLANC AND TITO A KIND OF FOUR-MAN LEADERSHIP. LIKE KARDELJ A MEMBER OF THE STATE PRESIDENCY, BAKARIC IS PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL FOR THE PROTECTION

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OF THE CONSTITUTION, WHICH GIVES HIM RESPONSIBILITY FOR
OVERSEEING INTERNAL SECURITY. HE IS SENSITIVE TO THE
PROBLEMS OF CONTROLLING THE POLICE--THE ONLY SENIOR
OFFICIAL TO HAVE DISCUSSED THIS PROBLEM WITH THE
AMBASSADOR. HE DID, HOWEVER, GO ALONG WITH TITO IN
HEIGHTENING ACTIVITY OF THE YUGOSLAV SECURITY
SERVICES IN RECENT YEARS.

17. BAKARIC HAS A FIRST CLASS MIND AND IMPECCABLE
PARTISAN AND PRE-WAR COMMUNIST CREDENTIALS. AS A
CROAT, HOWEVER, HE IS NOT OF THE BEST NATIONALITY. HIS
MAIN DRAWBACK IS HIS HEALTH, AND HE TOLD A VISITING
AMERICAN PROFESSOR THAT HE IS TOO OLD TO TAKE UP THE
MANTLE. HE APPEARS TIRED AND ILL, AND PROBABLY LACKS
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THE DRIVE, STAMINA AND AMBITION NEEDED TO TAKE ON
DOLANC ALONE.

18. SEVERAL YOUNGER MEN HAVE PROMISING FUTURES AND SOME
CHANCE AT THE TOP JOB:

--LC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER, JURE BILIC (54),
IS TOUGH, ABLE, ENERGETIC AND AMBITIOUS. HE ROSE TO
NATIONAL PROMINENCE IN 1972 IN THE WAKE OF THE PURGE
OF CROATIAN NATIONALISTS AND MIGHT BE MORE ACCEPTABLE
TO THE OTHER NATIONALITIES THAN A MORE "NATIONALISTIC"
CROAT. IN CONVERSATION HE GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF BEING
THOUGHTFUL AND SINCERE. HE DOES NOT PARROT THE PARTY
LINE ON EVERY QUESTION. ALTHOUGH RELATIVELY
YOUNG, HE IS REPORTED TO BE SUFFERING FROM BRAIN TUMOR
AND HAS HAD A HEART ATTACK. HIS HEALTH MIGHT WELL
DISQUALIFY HIM FOR HIGHER OFFICE.

--KIRO GLIGOROV (59) THE BRILLIANT PRESIDENT OF
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, HAS MADE HIS CAREER EXCLUSIVELY
IN THE FEDERAL GOVT AND MAY SUFFER FOR LACK OF
A POWER BASE IN HIS NATIVE MACEDONIA. ON THE OTHER
HAND, HE MIGHT APPEAR LESS THREATENING AND BE MORE
ACCEPTABLE TO OTHERS FOR THIS REASON. HE IS REPORTED
TO HAVE GRADUATED AT THE TOP OF HIS UNIVERSITY CLASS
AND WAS RATED BY A WORLD BANK MISSION AS ONE OF THE
TOP ECONOMISTS IN YUGOSLAVIA. BY FAR THE BEST MIND

IN YUGOSLAV POLITICAL CIRCLES, HE MIGHT BE TOO MUCH OF A TECHNOCRAT TO WIN TOUGH POLITICAL BATTLES, BUT REPORTEDLY RESTRAINS HIS AMBITIONS IN ORDER TO AVOID THE ATTACKS LEVELED AT THOSE IN THE LIMELIGHT. A TOP YUGOSLAV ACADEMIC DESCRIBED GLIGOROV AS "THE YUGOSLAV MIKOYAN" TO EMPHASIZE HIS DURABILITY. CONTRARY TO THE NORMAL PRACTICE OF THE STATUS-CONSCIOUS "NEW CLASS", HE HAS BEEN OBSERVED RIDING IN THE FRONT SEAT OF HIS CHAUFFEUR-DRIVEN CAR. STRIKINGLY ARTICULATE GLIVOROV IS KNOWN FOR SPEAKING FOR EXTENDED PERIODS WITHOUT NOTES. IN A SOCIETY WHERE PRECISION IS RARE (AND OFTEN A LIABILITY), HE STANDS OUT FOR HIS ABILITY TO EXPLAIN CALCULATEDLY AMBIGUOUS LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS. HE SEEMS WELL DISPOSED TO THE UNITED STATES. AFTER A RECENT TRIP TO MEXICO HE CONTRASTED MEXICO WITH YUGOSLAVIA, SAYING THAT MEXICO IS IN A FAVORABLE ECONOMIC POSITION BECAUSE IT DOES NOT NEED TO DEVOTE
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LARGE SUMS TO DEFENSE DUE TO A THREAT FROM ITS SUPER-POWER NEIGHBOR.

--ALEXANDER RLICKOV (53), QUIET-MANNERED LC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECRETARY, WAS THE CHIEF YUGOSLAV NEGOTIATOR FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE, AND HAS A REPUTATION AS ONE OF MOST THOUGHTFUL OF YUGOSLAVIA'S CURRENT LEADERS. HE IS NOT LIKED BY THE SOVIETS, ACCORDING TO A JAPANESE DIPLOMAT. AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. BELOVSKI AND ASSISTANT FEDERAL SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS KOMATINA CLEARLY DEFERRED TO HIM AT A GATHERING AT THE U.S. AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. --TRADE UNION LEADER AND EX-PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MIKA SPILJAK (60), A CROAT, HAS AN EXCELLENT GRASP OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS AND IS IMPRESSIVELY OPEN IN DISCUSSING SENSITIVE QUESTIONS WITH AMERICANS. HE SEEMS PRAGMATIC RATHER THAN IDEOLOGICAL IN OUTLOOK.

19. OF THE LEADING SERBS, FOREIGN SECRETARY MILOS MINIC (62) SEEMS MOST LIKELY TO RISE HIGHER. HE IS OFTEN MENTIONED AS BIJEDIC'S SUCCESSOR. HE IS SMART, TOUGH, UNCOMPROMISING, SINGLE-MINDED, BLUNT AND HAS LITTLE SENSE OF HUMOR. THE SOVIETS REPORTEDLY LIKE HIM, ACCORDING TO A JAPANESE DIPLOMAT, AND HE SEEMS TO US TO OFTEN AUTHOR A HARDER ANTI-U.S. LINE. HE IS STILL REMEMBERED, AND DISLIKED, BY ORDINARY SERBS AS THE PROSECUTOR OF CHETNIK LEADER DRAZA MIHAILOVIC. HIS HEALTH, HOWEVER, IS NOT GOOD. AT A RECENT DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION, HE NEEDED TO HOLD HIS RIGHT HAND WITH HIS LEFT TO KEEP IT FROM TREMBLING AND ONE OF HIS AIDES CONFIRMED TO AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAS PARKINSON'S DISEASE ALTHOUGH HE CLAIMED IT WAS UNDER CONTROL.

20. LONG-TIME FOREIGN MINISTER KOCA POPOVIC (67), WHO RESIGNED FROM THE GOVT IN SYMPATHY WITH PURGED SERBIAN LIBERALS, IS A DARK HORSE WHO MIGHT CONCEIVABLE RETURN TO PROMINENCE. IN SPITE OF HIS AGE HE APPEARS HEALTHY AND VIGOROUS AND OFTEN PLAYS TENNIS. UNLIKE THOSE WHO WERE PURGED, POPOVIC REMAINS IN CONTACT WITH THE PRESENT LEADERS. AMBASSADOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER MET
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HIM IN SEPT 1975 WHILE ON VACATION AT THE ELITE BRIONI RESORT. A PROMINENT YUGOSLAV POLITICAL SCIENTIST RECENTLY DESCRIBED POPOVIC AS THE ONLY SERBIAN LEADER OF QUALITY. ACCORDING TO A BRITISH DIPLOMAT, HE IS WELL-LIKED BY THE LEADERSHIP BUT IS PROBABLY REGARDED AS TOO INDEPENDENT. THE SAME SOURCE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE "GOOD FOR THE US" IF POPOVIC RETURNED TO A POSITION OF POWER.

21. BILIC, GLIGOROV, MINIC AND THE OTHERS MENTIONED ABOVE SEEM LIKELY TO RISE OR AT LEAST MAINTAIN THEIR INFLUENCE POST KARDELJ. CERTAIN OTHERS SEEM LIKELY TO DECLINE OR TO OCCUPY POSITIONS WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

22. HEADING ANY LIST OF SUCH "LOSERS" IS DJEMEL BIJEDIC, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, A POSITION TOO OFTEN EQUATED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN A WESTERN PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM. BIJEDIC IS FREQUENTLY DESCRIBED AS A CLOWN OR A BUFFOON. THE BUTT OF JOKES, HIS APPEARANCE ON A TV NEWS SHOW PROVOKED GALES OF LAUGHTER FROM YUGOSLAVS IN THE PRESENCE OF ONE AMERICAN OFFICER. PHLEGMATIC, HE HAS BEEN OBSERVED TO FALL ASLEEP DURING MEETINGS WITH VISITING AMERICANS AND TO LOOK TO AIDES

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FOR APPROVAL WHEN SPEAKING. THE TOKEN MOSLEM IN THE TOP LEADERSHIP, BIJEDIC STRUCK ONE AMERICAN OFFICER WHO MET WITH HIM AS BEING MORE INTERESTED IN SOME PET PROJECTS IN HIS NATIVE BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA THAN IN NATIONAL QUESTIONS.

23. FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL VICE PRESIDENT ANTON VRATUSA IS A KARDILJ PROTEGE WHOSE STAR IS LIKELY TO FADE WITH HIS PATRON. HE IS A THEORETICIAN LIKE KARDELJ, BUT NOT AS SMART. PERSONALLY CHARMING, HE STRIKES AMERICANS WHO HAVE MET HIM AS FUZZY-MINDED AND OBSCURE IN HIS THINKING. HE HAS A PROFESSORIAL MANNER AND PROBABLY LACKS A STRING DRIVE FOR POWER.

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24. INTERIOR MINISTER FRANJO HERLJEVIC IS A CAREER MILITARY OFFICER WHO HAS DIRECTED INCREASED INTERNAL SECURITY ACTIVITY SINCE TAKING OFFICE IN 1974. HE GIVES A PERSONAL IMPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE AND POWER, BUT NOT OF HIGHER AMBITIONS. HE AFFECTS A CIGARETTE-HOLDER, BUT HIS MANNER IS MORE TOUGHNESS THAN SOPHISTICATION OR INTELLECT. SOME REPORTS INDICATE THAT HE HAS BEEN CRITICIZED FOR HEAVY-HANDEDNESS, CLUMSINESS AND STUBBORNNESS IN RUNNING THE INTERIOR MINISTRY.

25. EXCEPT FOR MINIC AND POPOVIC, LEADING SERBS AT BOTH THE REPUBLICAN AND NATIONAL LEVEL ARE WEAK. PETAR

STAMBOLIC, THE SERB ON THE STATE PRESIDENCY, IS COLLOQUIALLY KNOWN AS PETAR THE HORSE (PETAR KONJ) AND IS GENERALLY CONSIDERED INCOMPETENT DEYHTE HIS PRETENSIONS TO GREATNESS. DUSAN PETROVIC SANE, THE PRESIDENT OF THE MASS FRONT SOCIAL ALLIANCE, HAS SHOWN NO SIGNS OF KNOWING WHAT TO DO TO GAIN POWER. AT THE REPUBLICAN LEVEL, PARTY PRESIDENT TIHOMIR VLASKALIC IS A PROFESSOR ONLY BROUGHT INTO THE POLITICAL SPOTLIGHT AFTER THE PURGE OF LIBERALS IN 1972. ONE SOURCE HAS MENTIONED HIM AS A POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR TO BUJEDIC, BUT HE WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO GATHER MUCH REAL POWER AS FEC PRESIDENT.

26. IN ONE OF THE FEW SIGNIFICANT PERSONNEL CHANGES SINCE 1974, EMERGING LEADER DJORDJE LAZIC WAS REMOVED AS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE SERBIAN PARTY THIS YEAR. DESCRIBED AS A "STALINIST" BY A SWEDISH DIPLOMAT, LAZIC HAD VISITED THE SOVIET UNION IN 1972 AND 1973. WHEN ASKED ABOUT THE PAUCITY OF SERBIAN LEADERS, A SENIOR SOVIET DIPLOMAT COMMENTED BITTERLY TO POLCOUNS THAT TITO HAD PERSONALLY STOPPED LAZIC AS HE HAD AND WOULD CONTINUE TO STOP ANY OTHER SERB WHO STARTED TO BUILD A PERSONAL POWER BASE.

27. ONE MORE SERB IS WORTHY OF MENTION--DEFENSE SECRETARY NIKOLA LJUBICIC, WHO HAS HELD OFFICE SINCE 1967 AND IS RUMORED TO BE DUE FOR ROTATION, POSSIBLY TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SERBIAN LC. CLOSE TO TITO, HE COULD CONCEIVABLY BE MOVED INTO ANY NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL JOBS. HE HAS RECENTLY BEEN ON AN EXTENDED TRIP IN SERBIA, VISITING FACTORIES AS WELL
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AS GARRISONS AND ACTING AS MUCH LIKE A POLITICIAN AS A SOLDIER. HE DOES NOT, HOWEVER, STRIKE OBSERVERS HERE AS A POLITICALLY AMBITIOUS GENERAL OR EVEN AS VERY MUCH OF A GENERAL'S GENERAL. IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE AMBASSADOR HE DID NOT SEEM PARTICULARLY BROAD-GUAGED. WHILE TITO REIGNS, LJUBICIC COULD GO ANYWHERE, BUT HE SEEMS UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED AT POLITICS ON HIS OWN.

28. NO INDIVIDUAL MILITARY OFFICERS STAND OUT NOW AS CANDIDATES TO RIVAL DOLANC, BUT ONE OF THE FOLLOWING WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED RELATIVELY HIGH POLITICAL INTEREST AND ACTIVITY COULD EMERGE: COL. GEN. DJOKO JOVANIC, UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; COL. GEN. IVAN DOLNICAR, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE; COL. GEN. IVAN KUKOC, MEMBER OF THE LC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMISSION; COL. GEN. DANE PETKOVSKI, ASSISTANT FEDERAL SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION; AND COL. GEN. DZEMIL SARAC, SECRETARY OF THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF THE LC IN THE ARMY. THEY WOULD PLAY KEY ROLES IF INSTABILITY SHOULD MAKE THE MILITARY THE ARBITER

OF YUGOSLAVIA'S FUTURE.

29. THE ECONOMIC FIRMAMENT HOLDS A NUMBER OF ABLE, IMPRESSIVE FIGURES WHO SEEM GENERALLY WELL-DISPOSED TO THE U.S.. THEIR CHANCES OF REACHING SENIOR POLITICAL JOBS, HOWEVER, MUST BE RATED SLIM. NONE OF THESE EVEN BELONG TO THE 165-MAN LC CENTRAL COMMITTEE, MUCH LESS THE PRESIDUM. BERISLAV SEFER, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, BRANISLAV COLANOVIC, GOVERNOR OF THE NATIONAL BANK, AND GOYKO UBIPARIP, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN TRADE AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE, ARE IN THIS GROUP, AS WELL AS REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL PRESIDENTS JAKOV SIROTKOVIC (CROATIA), ANDREJ MARINC (SLOVENIA), AND BLAGOJ POPOV (MACEDONIA). FINANCE MINISTER MOMCILO CEMOVIC IS NOT IN THIS CATEGORY OF ABLE ECONOMIC FIGURES; A YUGOSLAV SAID APPROPRIATELY THAT HE REACHED HIS HIGH WATER MARK AS MAYOR OF TITOGRAĐ.

30. THE ALBANIAN LEADERSHIP IS IN A CLASS BY ITSELF. NON-SLAVS, REPRESENTING BY FAR THE POOREST REGION OF
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THE COUNTRY, THEY HAVE LITTLE CHANCE FOR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP BY THEMSELVES, BUT COULD PLAY KEY ROLES IN A COLLECTIVE AND OF COURSE IN HANDLING THE PROBLEMS OF ALBANIAN NATIONALISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH PLAGUE THE KOSOVO AND THEREFORE YUGOSLAVIA. MAHMUT BAKALI, THE 37-YEAR OLD KOSOVO PARTY SECRETARY, IS A FLASHY, AMBITIOUS AND EXTREMELY IMPRESSIVE POLITICIAN. HE IS FREQUENTLY SEEN HOLDING COURT IN THE DINING ROOM OF THE MAIN HOTEL IN PRISTINA, WHERE HE IS TREATED WITH MUCH FUSS AND DEFERENCE. HE IS CONSIDERED ONE OF THE BRIGHTEST, ABLEST AND MOST PRAGMATIC OF YUGOSLAVIA'S YOUNGER LEADERS. ALI SUKRIJA, SECRETARY OF THE LC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, AND FADIL HODJA, MEMBER OF THE STATE PRESIDENCY, ARE OTHER STONG ALBANIAN LEADERS.

31. THE SLEEPERS ARE, OF COURSE, FORMERLY PROMINENT LEADERS WHO HAVE BEEN PURGED BUT CANNOT BE COMPLETELY RULED OUT AS CANDIDATES FOR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. NEIGHER SERBIAN "LIBERALS" LIKE MARKO NIKEZIC AND MIRKO TEPAVAC, CROATIAN "NATIONALISTS" LIKE MIKA TRIPALO AND SVAKA DABCEVIC-KICAR, NOR OLD CRONIES OF TITO LIKE ALEXANDER RANKOVIC AND MILOVAN DJILAS ARE GIVEN MUCH CHANCE OF RETURNING TO POWER. THEY ARE SHUNNED BY FORMER COLLEAGUES AND LEAD GENERALLY ISOLATED LIVES. TEPAVAC REPORTEDLY HAS TAKEN TO DRINK. NIKEZIC SAYS HE DOES NOT EXPECT TO REGAIN PWERE, ALTHOUGH HE HAS BEEN MORE ACCESSIBLE TO FOREIGNERS RECENTLY. AS INDIVIDUALS, THE "PURGEES" ARE PROBABLY FINISHED, BUT THEY CANNOT BE WRITTEN OFF

IN A CRISIS REQUIRING A NATIONAL CONSENSUS AND EFFORT,
AS THEY REPRESENT TENS OF THOUSANDS WHO HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM
THE PARTY IN THE PAST DECADE.

32. IT IS TOO EARLY TO WRITE KARDELJ'S DEFINITIVE
OBITUARY, BUT NOT TOO SOON TO CONSIDER THE RAMIFICATIONS
OF HIS WITHDRAWAL FROM ACTIVE POLITICS. THE PROSPECT
FOR THE MONTHS AHEAD IS FOR A CHALLENGE TO DOLANC'S
POSITION, ESPECIALLY AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE HIS STANDING
WITH TITO . NO PARTICULAR RIVAL STANDS OUT,BUT SEVERAL
OF THE PRESENT LEADERS HAVE THE QUALIFICATIONS TO

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R 310830Z AUG 76
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7888
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION NATO
AMCONSUL ZAGREB

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SUCCEED HIM AS TITO'S HEIR APPARENT AND THERE IS
ENOUGH OPPOSITION TO DOLANC TO UNSEAT HIM IF IT IS
SKILLFULLY MOBILIZED. OR THAT CONSUMMATE POLITICIAN
TITO MAY CHOOSE TO BALANCE DOLANC BY GIVING NEW

INFLUENCE TO ONE OF HIS RIVALS TO SUSTAIN THE RACE AT
LEAST UNTIL HIS DEMISE. NO ONE CAN SAY WITH CONFIDENCE
WHAT WILL HAPPEN THEN. A ROMANIAN DIPLOMAT WITH LONG
EXPERIENCE HERE RECENTLY EXPRESSED OPTIMISM. HE SAID
THAT THE LEADERSHIP BELOW TITO IS COMPOSED OF SKILLED
POLITICIANS WHO ARE EXPERIENCED IN LINKING TOGETHER
AND RESOLVING THEIR DIFFERENCES. HE MAY BE RIGHT.
BUT THOSE LEADERS WILL BE FUNCTIONING IN A FAR DIFFERENT
ENVIRONMENT WITHOUT THE SUBTLE INFLUENCE WHICH THE
PRESENCE OF A TITO EXERTS ON POLITICAL LIFE--EVEN
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WHEN HE DOES NOT INTERVENE DIRECTLY.
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Message Attributes

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